TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS EIGHTY-FIRST LEGISLATURE (COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE SENATE)

AUSTIN, TEXAS

IN RE: S CONSIDERATION OF SENATE BILL 362



## COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE SENATE TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2009

BE IT REMEMBERED THAT AT 12:38 p..m., on Tuesday, the 10th day of March 2009, the aboveentitled matter was heard at the Texas State Capitol Senate Chamber, Austin, Texas, before the Committee of the Whole Senate; and the following proceedings were reported by Aloma J. Kennedy, a Certified Shorthand Reporter of:

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## LAYING OUT OF SENATE BILL 362

SEN. FRASER: Thank you, members. The three-minute rule is in effect.

I've been sitting here for four hours waiting to lay this out. And, actually, we have a lot of discussion about how I should lay this out, discussion on it. And I think the bill speaks for itself. And I am going to be very brief, probably three or four minutes, and allow the witnesses to move forward, because I think we've wasted enough of the public's time and that we should move forward with hearing from the witnesses.

Members, this bill, I think probably most of you are going to be very familiar with it.

It's something we've talked about a lot. Someone back a while ago when we were having lunch asked me the question, said, "How did the talk about this bill get started"?

And I actually came back and sat down, and I've got probably, interestingly, more research and more reading and debate on this bill maybe than one I've ever done, because I'm very interested in the concept. But I think probably if you track it back in our nation's history, is that we look at the ongoing threat of voter fraud that this country has addressed

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secondary choices are a lot of secondary choices.

They could show their library card.

They could show any government piece of mail that was mailed to them. Basically anything that would show their identification as a secondary source of identification is going to be allowed under my bill.

And when we start discussing that, I'll be glad to go over the list that is listed of things. But in Texas, the bill that we are laying out actually has a secondary choice. Then if someone doesn't have a photo ID, there is a secondary choice to identify themselves.

I should also clarify that we are only addressing the in-person voting; we are not addressing mail-in ballots, early voting, any of the other things in the election cycle.

I think I'm going to go ahead and close so we can start either the questions and/or bring in the witnesses. But I think it's important to note that in upholding Indiana's photo ID law, in the decision that was given by John Paul Stevens in his majority opinion, he stated, "Confidence in the integrity of our election process is essential to the functioning of our participatory democracy. Voter fraud drives honest citizens out of the democratic

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itemize --
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                    SEN. FRASER: I'm getting heckled over
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     here. People from the other side are moving over
     to -- he's trying to implement the egg-timer rule of
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     three minutes.
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                    SEN. ZAFFIRINI: I see.
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                    SEN. FRASER: I'm for that.
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                    SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Well, on Page 6, Line
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     14 of your bill, you list types of documentation that
     you acceptable as proof of identification under this
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     chapter. In 2007, in House Bill 218 which you
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     sponsored in the Senate, you included a student
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     identification card as proof of identification, as
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     acceptable documentation, but a student ID card is not
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     included in your 2009 bill. Could you explain why?
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                    SEN. FRASER:
                                  Senator, could I refer you
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     to Section 6.
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                    SEN. ZAFFIRINI: What line, what page,
     Senator?
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                   SEN. FRASER: It is -- just a second.
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21
     The reference you're making is the public institutions
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     of higher learning, the student ID card is still
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     included.
                The wording changed, but it's covered by
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     No. (6)(A).
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                   SEN. ZAFFIRINI: So you're saying that
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on Page 6, beginning at Line 8 where it reads, "a
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 2
     valid identification card that contains the person's
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     photograph and is issued by:
                         (A) An agency or institution of
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     the federal government; or
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                         (B)
                              An agency, institution, or
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     political subdivision of this state," you're saying
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     that that would include institutions of higher
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     education and that, therefore, student identification
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     cards would be acceptable proof of identification?
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                    SEN. FRASER: Yes.
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                    SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Good.
                    SEN. FRASER: Isn't that what that says?
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     It says "an agency, institution or political
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     subdivision of this state." The University of Texas
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     is considered a subdivision of the state. It says
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     that an identification card that contains a person's
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     photograph that is issued by. I think the answer to
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     your question is "Yes."
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                    SEN. ZAFFIRINI: All right. In your old
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     bill -- I'm looking at it now -- you have this
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     language -- and in addition to that, you specified the
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     student identification card. But so long as you
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     clarify your legislative intent, that's acceptable to
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     me.
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you have placed in front of us today on voter ID have an affirmative role for states in recommending that they reach out to non-drivers by providing more offices?

SEN. FRASER: I'm sorry. I'm not even getting close to following the question you're asking. The bill that I'm laying out today says that when Wendy Davis walks into the voting booth, you've got to prove that you're really Wendy Davis. It's that simple.

SEN. DAVIS: And the bill does not include a request of the state that it open more offices for the purposes of obtaining a photo ID for non-drivers, it does not include that proposal.

Correct?

SEN. FRASER: They can use non-photos.

I mean, there is no provision right now, there is nothing in the bill that every person in the state could not comply with, because you can use a piece of mail that had been mailed to you, your library card. There's a long, long list of things that you could use. You could even use as your piece of identification the mail that the registrar sent to you for your voter registration. That's a form of identification.

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back to my question. Maybe it wasn't specific enough.
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     Have you talked to any African-Americans or Hispanics
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     that are in support of your bill --
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                    SEN. FRASER: Yes.
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                    SEN. WEST:
                               -- support? And will they
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     be here to testify?
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                    SEN. FRASER:
                                  I'm not advised.
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                    SEN. WEST: Okay. Have you talked to
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     any African- --
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                    SEN. FRASER:
                                  I haven't looked at the
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     list of who is going to testify,
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                    SEN. WEST: Have you talked to any
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     African-Americans or Hispanics about the impact that
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     your bill will have on their right to vote?
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                   Let me tell you what I'm getting to.
     Have you talked to any African-Americans? Have you
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     done an assessment in terms of whether or not this
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     particular bill and the methods that you are employing
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     will be retrogressive as it relates to the minority
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     voters of the State of Texas?
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                   SEN. FRASER: I think the answer is the
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     same answer I gave you about four questions ago, is
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     that I looked at -- and I've spent a lot of time
     examining the data of actual voter turnout that
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     happened after the implementation of a photo ID bil!
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in Indiana and in Georgia. And I have invited the 1 2 election judges from both states to come and share 3 that with you today, and I feel sure that they will be glad to answer your questions. 4 5 SEN. WEST: And based on your 6 observation of what occurred in those particular 7 states, you believe that your bill, if enacted in law, 8 will not have any retrogressive impact on the minority 9 voters of the State of Texas? SEN. FRASER: I think my bill is going 10 11 to increase African-American and Hispanic turnout in 12 Texas. I think those people today feel disenfranchised because they feel like there is fraud 13 14 going on in votes today --15 SEN. WEST: Well, have you talked to 16 any --17 SEN. FRASER: Are you interrupting me? 18 SEN. WEST: Yes. I --19 SEN. FRASER: Just a second. I get to finish. 20 21 But you say you feel like SEN. WEST: 22 those people. My question is, who have you spoken to, 23 to come to that assertion that those people feel as 24 though that there's fraud and all that stuff? What 25 African-Americans and Hispanics -- have you spoken to

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some to make that assertion, in the State of Texas?

And I'll listen to you now. I'll listen to you now respond to my question.

SEN. FRASER: I have laid out a bill and researched, asked questions about the way people vote. I believe I have a bill that will encourage people that their vote will count and their vote is not going to be diluted by those that cheat. I think that will encourage voters, as it did in Indiana and in Georgia.

And I believe that this bill is not only good for the people of the State of Texas, but I'm pretty familiar with the ethnic makeup of the people you represent. And I think this bill will be extremely good for Royce West's senatorial district.

thoughts. But let me ask you again, you made some assertions that you believe that it's going to be good for every one of Royce West's district and ethnic minorities in the State of Texas. You made assertions that this will prevent people from cheating and all that other stuff. And I'm asking you, as relates to voter impersonation, have you talked to any African-Americans or Hispanics that said there was a problem in the state, that this is a problem in the state?